

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 606

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 3949

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SCUL, PFOR, HU

SUBJECT: EXPULSION OF PROFESSOR ISTVAN DEAK

REF: A) STATE 245178; B) BUDAPEST 3938; C) STATE 245892

FOR EUR STOESSEL FROM PEDERSEN

1. WE HAD THOROUGH DISCUSSION WITHIN EMBASSY YESTERDAY OF PROPOSED IREX TELEGRAM TO KKI(REFTEL A) RESPONDING TO DEAK EXPULSION. MY JUDGMENT, AND THAT OF ENTIRE STAFF, IS THAT PROPOSED STEP WILL ESCALATE PRESENT ISSUE WITH GOH TO POINT WHERE IT WILL NOT ONLY IMPAIR IREX EXCHANGES BUT ALSO SET BACK PROSPECTS FOR A CULTURAL-SCIENTIFIC AGREEMENT WHICH ONLY NOW SEEMS IN PROSPECT FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AFTER TWO YEARS PREPARATION. I HOPE YOU CAN PERSUADE IREX TO FOLLOW COURSE ESSENTIALLY ALONG LINES WE PREVIOUSLY RECOMMENDED. WHILE THEIR PROGRAM IS PRIVATELY RUN, IT IS LARGELY FINANCED BY US MONEY AND WHAT THEY DO WILL HAVE HEAVY IMPACT ON US OBJECTIVES THAT GO WELL BEYOND IREX. IF COURSE WE PROPOSE IS NOT SUCCESSFUL IREX WOULD OBVIOUSLY THEN BE IN POSITION TO GO ON TO STRONGER ONE.

2. ONE BIG DECISION IS WHAT ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE. IT IS CLEAR TO US THAT OUR OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO BRING ABOUT FURTHER EXPANSION OF CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND INFORMATIONAL CONTACTS. WE SHOULD NOT BE PROVOKED BY
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UNWARRANTED OR REACTIONARY STEP BY GOH INTO TAKING

COUNTER-STEPS WHICH WILL INTERRUPT THIS PROCESS. PROPOSED IREX CABLE IS SO STRONG IN TONE AND EXTENSIVE IN REACTION THAT IT WILL IN OUR OPINION PRODUCE A SULLEN GOH RESPONSE, OR NO RESPONSE AT ALL--WITH RESULT THAT IREX 1974-75 PROGRAM WILL REMAIN SUSPENDED AND OUR OTHER CULTURAL-INFORMATION PROSPECTS WILL ALSO BE SET BACK.

3. IMPLICIT JUDGMENT IN NATURE OF PROPOSED RESPONSE IS THAT THROUGH DEAK EXPULSION AND ITS COMMENTS ON HUNGARIAN-AMERICANS GOH IS STARTING ON COURSE OF RESTRICTIONS ON AMERICAN SCHOLARS AND EXCHANGEES THAT COULD MAKE THE PROGRAM NOT WORTHWHILE FOR US, AND THAT ONLY STRONG REACTION AT THIS POINT CAN STOP THIS. WE DO NOT SHARE THAT VIEW. REASONS FOR DEAK'S EXPULSION ARE STILL NOT CLEAR TO US AND SEEM NOT TO HAVE BEEN ELUCIDATED FURTHER WITH HIM BY IREX. HUNGARIANS HAVE NOT GIVEN US "FRIVOLOUS" REASONS, AS REFTEL INDICATED. THEY HAVE ONLY ASSERTED HE WAS ENGAGED IN COLLECTING INFORMATION HOSTILE TO HUNGARIAN STATE. BUT AS UNWARRANTED AND UNWISE AS HIS EXPULSION WAS--WHICH WAS WHY I PROMPTLY TOOK MATTER UP MYSELF--BOTH VARKONYI IN FOREIGN OFFICE AND ROSTA IN KKI WENT TO SOME LENGTH TO ASSURE US THAT GOH WAS NOT ENGAGED IN TIGHTENING UP PROCESS ON OTHER SCHOLARS AND TO SOFTEN IMPACT OF THEIR FIRST STATEMENT ABOUT FUTURE HUNGARIAN-AMERICANS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE BELIEVE OBJECTIVE OF IREX CABLE SHOULD BE TO RECOMMIT KKI IN WRITING TO POLICY OF FREEDOM OF SCHOLARLY RESEARCH AND NORMAL CONTACTS AND TO OUR RIGHT TO SEND HUNGARIAN-AMERICANS, WITH VIEW TO KEEPING EXCHANGE ON THE TRACKS. PRESENT TEXT WILL NOT DO THIS. IN OUR OPINION IT WILL STRENGTHEN HANDS OF HARDLINERS WHO WILL BE ABLE TO FURTHER CURTAIL PROGRAM SIMPLY BY PREVENTING ANY FAVORABLE RESPONSE.

4. I HOPE, THEREFORE, THAT YOU CAN PERSUADE IREX THAT PROPER RESPONSE IS ONE THAT EXPRESSES A SERIOUS POLICY REACTION AND THAT PUTS QUESTIONS TO KKI FOR CLARIFICATION. IT WOULD INCLUDE THESE ELEMENTS: A) EXPRESSION SERIOUS CONCERN AT EXPULSION DISTINGUISHED SCHOLAR WITHOUT ANY SATISFACTORY EXPLANATIONS OF REASONS THEREFOR, WITH REQUEST FOR EXPLANATION: B) INDICATION THAT IN CIRCUMSTANCES IREX ALSO NEEDS BROADER CLARIFICATION HUNGARIAN POLICY "SO THAT IT CAN MAKE POLICY CONFIDENTIAL

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DECISIONS ABOUT FUTURE OF THE IREX-KKI EXCHANGE PROGRAM", C) KEY ELEMENT IN THIS IS CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF FREEDOME OF SCHOLARLY RESEARCH AND NORMAL CONTACTS TO EXCHANGE PROGRAM, WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT INTO JEOPARDY BY DEAK EXPULSION, AND ASK KKI WHAT ITS POLICY IS AND WHETHER IT CAN ASSURE THESE CONDITIONS WILL BE MET; D) EXPRESS STRONG CONCERN ABOUT INDICATIONS GOH ASKING US TO ELIMINATE OR SEVERLY RESTRICT POST-WAR HUNGARIAN-AMERICANS FROM PROGRAM,

INDICATING THIS WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE AND THAT SUCH STEP
COULD ALSO BE VIEWED AS EFFORT TO CURTAIL EFFECTIVENESS
OF EXCHANGE PROGRAM.

5. WE BELIEVE ABOVE APPROACH--WHICH INCLUDES STATEMENT THAT
OVERALL POLICY REVIEW ON EXCHANGE IS REQUIRED--WOULD BE
SUFFICIENTLY STRONG NOTICE TO STRENGTHEN MODERATES IN GOH.
NEXT STEPS SHOULD BE DECIDED WHEN REPLY RECEIVED. OUR
IMPRESSION IS THAT RESPONSE TO THIS TYPE OF LETTER
WOULD BE FAVORABLE ENOUGH TO WARRANT PROGRAM PROCEEDING.
IF NOT, THEN CONSIDERATION OF SUSPENSION OR OTHER STEPS
WOULD BE IN ORDER.

6. WHILE WE PREFER NOT TO INCLUDE IN THIS MESSAGE ANY
CONCRETE STEP OTHER THAN POLICY REVIEW STATEMENT, WE
THINK ADDITION OF SENTENCE IN CABLE ASKING FOR PROMPT REPLY
IN VIEW "NECESSITY TO MAKE EARLY DECISION ON DESPATCH AND
RECEIPT OF PRESENTLY AGREED EXCHANGEES" WOULD NOT
PRODUCE NEGATIVE RESULTS WE ARE OTHERWISE CONCERNED ABOUT.
IF DEPT FELT THIS NECESSARY TO HOLD SITUATION WITH IREX
WE WOULD NOT OBJECT. WE DO NOT THINK ANYTHING SHOULD BE
SAID ABOUT SUSPENDING RECRUITING AT THIS POINT.
PEDERSEN

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